/12 cont'd/

M 551 171 HM 551 614

Noyans, Bagaturs, Beks and Tegins, all the aristocracy now became the Vassals of the clan of Mongol and accepted its name. For the first time the united nation had a common name and the name soon became so glorious that every nomad was proud to call himself a Mongol. /Cited in English./

A similar custom existed among the T'ou-jen. Indeed, we know the case of a group of more than a hundred families under the Iang t'ou-se of Tchouo-ni-tse who came to live in the Choei-mouo-keou of Sining belonging to the Li t'ou-se. The whole group changed its name from Iang to Li and acknowledged Li t'ou-se as its chief.

M 551 /13/ however, due to historic events which we shall relate in their place, families under the same t'ou-se no longer bear the same name.

M 582 178 Hence, in this case, formerly the prohibition against marriage between young people bearing the same name corresponded to that forbidding marriage between members of the same tribe or clan. This prohibition makes us think of the great law of exogamy in all its breadth; an exogamy affecting not only the family but also the clan, since here the two merge. Whatever may have been the case in the past, the law of exogamy today bears only on the single family.

M 551 613 The T'ou-jen consider that the notion of name is exactly equivalent to that of family. All those who do not bear the same name, even though they are descended directly from the same ancestor, are foreigners /i.e., outsiders/ to the family. Here is a conception laden with consequences: daughters given in marriage and, taking the name of their husbands, will consequently leave the family and will become outsiders; they will no longer be buried in the family cemetery; since their children bear a different name, they will also be foreigners to the family of the mother. It follows from this that since they do not bear the same name, there is no obstacle to the marriage of the children of the two families. Thus one regularly sees

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Mo /13 cont'd/
582 unions between the children of brothers and sisters. Moreover, it is
605 the same practice which exists among the Mongols.
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A similar custom is found among the Chinese; however, the principle "another name, another family" is not pushed to the extreme. Actually, in China one sees marriages between the sons of a sister and the daughters of her brothers, but not the other way around, between the sons of brothers and the daughters of their sisters.

Another kind of alliance much sought after among the T'ou-jen is that contracted between the sons and daughters of two sisters. Two sisters married into two different families bear different names: consequently, their children are free to intermarry. /14/ The same practice is found among the Chinese.

Mo Let us point out still another kind of alliance very frequent
582 nowadays among this people; it consists in the exchange of daughters.
171 Family A gives its daughter in marriage to the son of family B, and family B at the same time offers its daughter in marriage to the son of family A. This custom is also very frequent among the Chinese and the Manchu. (1)

Ma 1. Some notes collected in Mr. Shirokogoroff's
144 excellent study, Social Organisation of the
551 Manchus, Shanghai, 1924, will broaden our horizon. Since the T'ou-jen whom we are discussing are Mongols and Mongolized Cha-t'ouo, it is instructive to compare their customs with those of the Manchu, who, says Mr. Shirokogoroff, p. 168, "do not understand their name as an original ethnical name, but merely as a name of the power that includes different political and ethnical groups (the Mongols and others) into a new political unit." P. 167: "a) Klaproth asserted that the
Ma 197 Manchu language is an amalgamation of the Tungus and the Mongol languages influenced above all by Turkic. b) He has shown the
Ma 144 intercourse and assimilation of different groups,

Ma 1444 /14 cont'd/ Korean, Tungus, Mongols, and so on. c) I have expounded ... that the Manchus are an amalgamation from the physical standpoint, and that in general the so-called "Mongol race" is merely hypothesis insufficiently based on the superficial impression of the travellers." P. 11: "The Manchus recognize the following three groups, viz., 1) the ancient Manchus, 2) the modern (new) Manchus, 3) the Mongol-Manchus." /Cited in English./ These notes

Ma Mo 171 on the subject of the Manchu enter therefore within the framework of our subject. In spite of the enormous distance which separates Kansu from Manchuria, and the total absence of relations between the Manchu and the T'ou-jen, we find that many practices are absolutely identical among the two peoples; others, in the course of centuries, have undergone changes, which were different in the two camps, due to the presence of neighboring peoples with customs different from theirs; in more than one case, it is enough to look at

Ma Mo 582 corresponding customs in order to understand their alteration or, evolution.

"Up to the present time the practice of exchange of women is one of the preferred ways to get a wife (among the Manchus). Among some other Tungus groups this is the only practical way of marrying." Shirokogoroff, p. 69. /Cited in English, with interpolation in French, indicated by parentheses./

Mo 582 605 /15/ When the sister's daughter marries one of the sons of her maternal uncles, this union is called tao-t'sin, which means "returning the marriage" in this sense (1) "that formerly you /16/ gave us

/16 cont'd/

582 the mother in marriage and now we give you back her daughter to
●605 marry your son." The Chinese do not have this expression, as a scholar pointed out to me with a touch of scorn. When the daughter of brothers marries the son of her paternal aunt, which frequently occurs among the Chinese and the T'ou-jen, it is said of this alliance "that the niece goes to join her aunt."

584 At any rate one should not conclude from the above that today
184 among the T'ou-jen all marriages are contracted, from generation to generation, regularly and necessarily, between members of the same families; one must not infer that the daughters-in-law in one family are always cousins; neither should one believe that people do not become united with "foreign" families in our use of the word. Present-
[605 day conditions are no longer those of former times; the truth is that
582] marriages between cousins (of brothers and sisters) are still very numerous. But since one family may be allied in this way to five or six others, and since one seeks avidly to remain always in the same circle of alliances, it is natural that unions between relatives will be more numerous than those between strictly "foreign" families.

582 This custom is of capital importance. Why does one seek and hold in such high honor these unions between families with which one already has former kin relations? This is an old and general custom. Why, above all, is the notion of tao ts'in, "returning the marriage," considered to be sacrosanct among the T'ou-jen? When a brother asks his sister for a daughter to marry his son, she cannot refuse under any pretext. Why? No one knows. Why does marriage generally remain circumscribed within a restricted circle of families? Why should a practice so generalized and deeply rooted in custom have to be recalled in the traditional short speech of the master of ceremonies of the bride's family on the wedding day at the bridegroom's house, even when the /17/ husband and wife belong to absolutely unrelated families? Even then it is supposed that they were related a long time ago, and that the present marriage renews the old relationships!

581 To understand this practice, should one not recall that all the T'ou-jen formerly lived in a nomadic state? These groups living in the immense steppes of Asia had necessarily to look for support from other nomadic groups, wandering like themselves and seeking support

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[Note on foreign text pp. 654-655 cont.] father his mother's brother is the person of respect, who in case of death demands an accounting. Wei-chia and wai-chia have the same signs; only the pronunciation is different. Literally translated it means [655] "the outside family," in other words, not belonging to the male line. Instead of wai-chia one also says niang-chia, which designates the family from which the mother comes. This expression is also used for the family of the lama, who, of course, is unmarried. -- The wai-chia or niang-chia does not appear until the day before the cremation.

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The mother's brother is solemnly
764 received by the master of ceremonies and led to the death-box.
602 There he and his retinue offer the 12 loaves, burn paper, and
604 kowtow. During this time all the relatives must express great
[782] bereavement and the women utter loud lamentations. The mother's brother also weeps. After this ceremony, the mother's brother is led into the house and onto the kang, where he is given tea and bread. He rests a little while. The other companions are given hospitality outside in the yard where everything is set up for the funeral meal and the ceremony of the accounting.

[641] The mother's brother is led into the yard and sits on a white felt mat which is spread out on the ground directly before the entrance of the main house. He sits with his back to the house, facing the mani-tree. A kang table is put in front of him. The other relatives on the maternal side sit on straw to the right and left of him in a semicircle. Boards which are supposed to represent tables are put in front of them. Now oil-baking, tea, and pastries are brought. The serving is done by the cousinhood on the father's side (16). After the first bite, the guests are

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16. [Foreign text p. 655.] At the interment, the Tujen have the

[641 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 655 cont.] following offices: 1. The master of ceremonies. He takes care of everything connected with the customs concerning the dead and the cremation. He is called by the Chinese name sang-kuan, that is, leader of the interment, or hu-sang, that is, protector of the interment. He is usually picked from the cousinhood. 2. The gift-guardian. He takes the offering loaves and keeps them in a special room. In Chinese he is called k'u-kuan, that is, treasure-guardian. -- The Chinese also put a secretary at his disposal, who notes what the individual guests have given. The Tujen do not have this. 3. The host. He is there solely for the lama and provides for his entertainment, for his animals, for the things needed at the ceremony, for paper to burn, etc. The Tujen call him kǎnguo. In his place the Chinese have an incense-manager. 4. The female cook, called dziemā nienie by the Tujen. -- With exception of the kǎnguo and the dziemā nienie, the officiants seem to have been taken over from the Chinese.

764 given some liquor, and the bereaved on the father's side come
604 in the circle with the master of ceremonies and kneel on the
[602] ground before the mother's brother. The master of ceremonies
[273] steps forward and invites the mother's brother to take a drink of
[537] liquor. He hands him a hada and a piece of white cloth and requests him to present his wishes for the dead and to release the corpse for the cremation.